13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

584 178 not interested in letting her marry the first man who chances to come along. The marriage itself, therefore, is decided upon, not by the young people, but by the older men of the two households. The two young people are sufficiently concerned with older Tongan ways not to cut an apparent knot by elopement and thus to anger their elders.

MARRIAGE

583 585 [588] From our household-census it is possible to present a rough statistical picture of the marital status of all the adults in the village. There are thirty-nine couples living together as man and wife. Of this number, thirty-five couples are married. The marriage ceremonies of these thirty-five couples are of two types. Civil- and church-registrations account for nineteen couples, civil- and church-registrations plus old-time Tongan-style celebrations of the marriage, account for the remaining sixteen couples. Of these thirty-five marriages, twenty-three are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twelve marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriage in this category and the number of each are: Single man with divorcée, two; divorcé with single woman, five; widower with single woman, three; widower with widow, two. Of these twelve marriages, therefore, ten are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. [586] [587] It is thus clear that a previous marriage terminated by death or divorce is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

586 [435] The cost of a divorce in Tonga is ten pounds per mate, or twenty pounds per divorce. This sum represents the amount that it would take an average householder almost two years to earn by cutting copra on his plantation. It is 586 588 only to be expected therefore, that many unhappy Tongan marriages end not by divorce but by an informal separation which allows the mates to set up unblessed unions with others 588 in like circumstances. If these unions become permanent, the mates are tacitly assumed by the villagers to be as-if married, the children as-if legitimate. The village attitude is more one of pity for misfortune than anything else. There is never any comment, scandal, or gossip about such unions.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

588 Of the four couples living together in marriage without 586 benefit of any marriage-ceremony, all of the four women concerned are legally married to husbands from whom they have unofficially separated. They have either deserted their husbands or have been deserted by them and have neither the interest nor the money to secure an official divorce. Of the four men involved in these unofficial marriages, two are widowers, one is an unmarried man, and one is unofficially 588 separated from his wife. All four of these couples have been living together for some considerable time and all four couples have had several children each during the course of their "marriage." There has been nothing unstable, that is, about the relationship.

589 A further nineteen adults (arbitrarily defined as those twenty-five years of age or older) in the village are at present unmarried. Of these, one is a spinster, eight are bachelors, nine are widows and one is a widower. The widows and the widower are past marrying-age. The spinster is also old. The bachelors are comparatively young. They will probably marry in the near future.

582 In order to get some idea of the relative frequency of inter-village marriage as compared with intra-village marriage, forty-four Pangai marriages were studied. These include the thirty-nine couples mentioned above together with a further five couples whose marriage had recently been dissolved by the death of one of the partners but which could come within this survey because the pre-marital residences of the partners were clearly remembered. In all these marriages both partners were resident in Pangai village. The birthplace and pre-marital residence of the mates is shown in the following table.

TABLE 11.—BIRTHPLACE OF MATES.

	MEN	WOMEN			
Village	Total	Pangai	Vava'u	Outside Vava'u	Total
Pangai — — —	35	15	14	6	35
Vava'u (excluding Pangai)	3	3	—	—	3
Outside Vava'u — —	6	6	—	—	6
	44				44

Of the thirty-five Pangai men involved, forty-three per cent. married Pangai women, forty per cent. married women

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Another native, commenting on sexual breaches, remarked that a man who violated the wife of a great chief would be slain by his own people. There would seem to be little doubt that if any such hardy lover escaped the vengeance of mortals his offence would not pass unnoticed of the unseen powers. In fact an instance of this sort was recently related to Mr. Gifford and myself. A man of considerable rank had gone from the island of Eua to Tongatabu and was living in close and friendly connection with the reigning Tui Tonga. The latter went on a voyage to Haapai shortly after one of his wives (not the chief wife) had given birth to a child, leaving the mother and babe to the care of the Euan whose relations with his fair charge soon became too fond and intimate. As a consequence of his wife's frailty the Tui Tonga found on his return that the child had fallen ill. The secret of the guilty pair had, however, not yet been divulged, and recourse was had to the lot, by spinning a coconut, to discover the person whose wrong-doing was responsible for the royal infant's alarming condition. The lot fell between the Tui Tonga himself and his unfaithful spouse. The next spin brought the guilt right home to the woman who confessed her sin. The story ends in a manner to satisfy the most susceptible reader of love romances. Not only did the Tui Tonga forgive the lady, but he bestowed both her and the infant on the successful lover, and all three removed to Eua where the child became the progenitor of a line of chiefs. It was apparently no uncommon thing for a village to choose a handsome girl to take to a high chief that she might bring back to them a chiefly child. Such a child was called by a word indicating that he was not so much the possession of an individual mother as of the whole village or family group.

The consequences attendant on illicit love affairs are often illustrated today. Not infrequently a man and woman who do not desire to marry, or are unable to because of some previous union, take an oath of mutual fidelity on the Bible. Various circumstances may make them desire to be rid of this bond. Perhaps if the woman is married one of her legitimate children falls ill. One of the parties themselves, or one or other of their relatives, may become sick, or die. Although no entanglements of this sort may be impeding the course

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide. Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and before it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity, and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask) foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relationship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

Famili functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V The Interpersonal Relationship

Kinship Terminology

The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.[15] But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

15. Gifford 1929: 28.

/63 cont./

304 meaning to it. (175)
852

175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have become more matter-or-fact. (176)

[178]

176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

304 Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new
177 methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)
178

177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

594 The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a
581 rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan
588 custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

/63 cont./

588 178. In 'Uiha/'Uiha, for example, five of the 82 marriages existing in April 1952 were common-law marriages.

423 425 The economic basis of the family is now generally individual land ownership: every male Tongan at the age of 16 may receive eight and one-half acres of taxable land (for cultivation) and property for his dwelling in the village. (179)

179. If there is no more land to be given out on one's home island, one may apply for it, for example, on Tongatapu where larger areas are still available. But most of the natives prefer to stay with their parents and share in working their land, possibly inheriting it, or they move in with relatives.

[593]

591 582 As a rule, therefore, the wife at her marriage moves to the place of her husband which he has received as his right or which he has taken over from his father or shares with his family. The two spouses either come from the same village, (180)

180. This is the case particularly in larger villages and on remote islands.

or one spouse, usually the woman, comes from /64/ another village or another island. Married couples seldom move to a new place. (181)

[823] [423] [425] 181. Besides a deeply rooted feeling for their home place, greater difficulties in the question of land acquisition by non-residents on most of the Tonga islands are the reason.

For example, in the typical village of 'Uiha of the Ha'apai group on the island of 'Uiha, (182)

182. A large village on a somewhat remote island.

of 61 married couples, both partners were born in 'Uiha; of 15 couples, two husbands and 13 wives came from elsewhere, and of six couples, both partners came from other islands of the Archipelago. (183)